5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Most of these capital goods enter the village by gift or gift exchange. Some types (e.g. kitchenware and clothes) may pass from one village to another by way of brideprice, but other types of gifts (e.g. radios) are hardly ever made in a ceremonial context, but only to close kinsmen. I am not at all sure whether, in Salisbury's terminology, the latter type should be classified as a luxury or a ceremonial item.

One conclusion emerging from the various studies made in the 1960s is that total village income has risen rapidly among the Orokaiva. The sources vary. it may be due to outside employment of persons still ordinarily resident in the village, to increased cash cropping, to sale of food surpluses or to increased remittances from local men employed away from the village.

4. *History*

The main object of this section is to provide some background for the study of Orokaiva exchange, especially between tribes and between Orokaiva and Europeans.

In physical constitution, Williams considered the Orokaiva to be 'midway between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian'. Dupeyrat, who has recently (1965) surveyed the evidence, considers the Orokaiva 'basically of the Papuan Mountain type', but mixed with Polyno-melanesian elements, late-comers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela. It is certainly true that one notices more Polyno-melanesian features along the coast (e.g. among the Yega) than inland.

In the period just prior to European occupation, the most notable aspect of Orokaiva history that can be reconstructed is pressure from the dense population on the Mount Lamington foothills upon the sparser populations surrounding the mountain on all sides, but especially to the north and east. These sparser populations (to whom Williams gives the common name Sauaha) pressed upon the still sparser populations dwelling in the still less fertile country on their own northern and eastern borders (see Chinnery and Beaver 1916; Williams 1930: 152–4; Monckton 1921: Ch. XXIV; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 14–16).

In 1888, in response to Australian pressure, the British government annexed Papua. The first administrator, Sir William McGregor, made many arduous exploratory expeditions while establishing his rule in this vast unknown territory. On one of these expeditions he ascended the Mambare river to its highest navigable point, a few miles above Tamata creek, where he discovered the existence of gold in the sand and shores of the river (Monckton 1921: 78; Murray 1912: 326–8). This was the first discovery of gold in Papua with important commercial prospects, and led to a major movement of prospectors and miners to the Northern District. Relationships with the Papuans were bad from the beginning, and there were numerous killings by both sides. In 1900 150 miners were working on the Yodda river; the Yodda and Gira goldfields together produced 15,000 oz. of gold (Murray 1912: 333). In order to stop the bloodshed, resident magistrates were stationed at Ioma, along the Mambare and at two places on the Kumusi river, which was for some years the access route to the Yodda field.

The early relationships between Orokaiva and Australians may be gleaned

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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from the three books of memoirs written by Monckton, who was resident magistrate in the district until his immoderate punitive expeditions led to his being eased out of the service in 1907. His most memorable achievement was the building of a road from Buna through Orokaiva country to Kokoda, near the goldfields. This road, slightly modernised, is still the main line of communication in the Northern District today. By the time it was built (1904), the sanguinary battles between Monckton and the Dobodura and others had taken place, so government patrols were treated with much circumspection. Nonetheless the tribes around Mount Lamington were still 'fighting like Kilkenny cats' (Monckton 1922: 142). Monckton's comments on the road are interesting.

> Yodda Road is tabu to the tribes and is traversed in perfect safety by single white men and their unarmed carriers. Never since I broke the Dobudura and Sangara has there ever been a theft upon it. It is a sanctuary for any and everyone; the wildest tribes only visit it in peace to trade food and goods to passing travellers. They rather like it, as small parties of hostile tribes can move freely about on it in safety with their women and children. (1934:41)

While the road was being built 'no hostilities took place between my working parties and the local inhabitants' (*ibid.* 63). It was thus described not only by Monckton, but also by Lieutenant-Governor Murray who wrote:

> The Wasida and Sangara have been particularly active in forming markets along the road which leads from Buna Bay to the Yodda Goldfield, and in supplying carriers with taro and other food in exchange for articles of trade, such as tobacco and glass bottles, which are much prized for the manufacture of razors. (1912:105)

The Protectorate of British New Guinea became Australian territory by the passing of the Papua Act 1905 by the Commonwealth Government of Australia. The new administration adopted a policy of peaceful penetration and the Monckton type of massacres were not repeated. Nonetheless, these early excesses are now forever part of Orokavia history. In the period that followed Papua presented 'in many ways an example of enlightened rule' (Mair 1948: Ch. III). Many measures of social and economic native development were introduced, though these invariably took the form of 'native regulations', for the breach of which a penalty was attached. The principle of coercion was applied over a remarkably wide and ever widening field.

From the days of McGregor, local control was in the hands of 'village constables, paid servants of the Crown. They were intermediaries between government and people, chosen by European officers.' From 1925 onwards, one or more 'village councillors' were appointed alongside the village constable. These were not paid servants of the Crown but were intended 'to be the representatives of native opinion'. In the Northern District I found they had generally been regarded as constables' assistants or subordinates. No indigenous officials had any judicial powers, as Murray felt such powers would lead to corruption.

In the period of Murray's rule (1907–40), the government's basic objective was to turn the Papuan into a keen and efficient indentured plantation worker. In that role, he was assiduously protected by measures which effectively

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minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of wages and the employer's treatment of labour.

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
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[A villager shows off the fighting head-dress of his father. It is intricately made of boar tusks, shells, feathers, and horn-bill beaks.]

THE YEGA OF NORTHERN PAPUA

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[161]

THE Yega is a group of nearly 900 people living in sixteen settlements, on an area of about twelve square miles, on the north coast of Papua. They live on a gently sloping alluvial plain between Mt Lamington and the sea. Yega territory is bounded by one large stream and crossed by several small creeks.

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The plain was originally covered by mature rain forest 100-120 feet high, interspersed with elongated strips of grassland. Now, much of the original forest has been cut down, and secondary forest forty to fifty feet high has

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replaced it. The climate is hot and wet throughout the year (Köppen Af.) but there is marked seasonality of precipitation. The north-west monsoon, November to April, brings two-thirds of the annual rainfall (average 100 inches per year); July and August with about four inches per month are relatively dry. The temperature is over 80°F on most days and rarely falls below 70°F on the coolest night, but the heat is alleviated by north-easterly sea breezes which blow during the afternoon and evening throughout the year.

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The first reported contact between Europeans and Yega was during an expedition along the coast by the Lt Governor of Papua, Sir William McGregor, in 1893, but the first real step in the process of change occurred with the establishment of an Anglican mission school on Waususu Point in 1909. From this

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time until the outbreak of World War II, Yega men began leaving their villages to work

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